Is Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SRS Bush Negroes SRS
Saramacca

might catch fire were a wind to come up when the underbrush is burned. If he spies a slender bent liana from which the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are made, then he has to be sure to cut it down with the proper invocation, so that the spirit inside the liana will not bend him to its own shape.

Kasanya continued his explanation. "When a field is found, it is the man who clears it." A man calls on his relatives or friends to help him. The men come with their machetes, and they cut away at bushes and shrubs, they cut away the lianas which are twined about the trees, and then the trees themselves. Then they go away, leaving what they have cut to dry. "To take all this away would be too hard, and, besides, fire does the work better, and fertilizes the ground as well."

So, when the wood is dry, they come with fire, and let the fire finish the work. Then the ashes are allowed to lie for a time, for, though this clearing is done during the dry season, occasional showers can be relied upon to work the ash into the ground. Then, too, the time for planting is not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before the old year meets the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground," Kasanya went on, "the man and the woman work together. It is then that the woman begins her work in this field. What was done before had to do with cutting timber, and our proverb says: Woodworking is not a woman's affair."

The man alone clears the ground, but the woman helps him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast of burden to help him in the fields.

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the consecration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each clan, and often from village to village of the same clan.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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name which was kept secret and never spoken except in states of possession or when the obia man called on a person's spirit. For girls, Amba for a Saturday child, Affi for one born on Friday, Adjuba for Wednesday; and for the boys some of the names were Kwaku, for Monday, Yao for Thursday, Kofi for Friday, and Kwasi for Sunday. Then there was the name which the father gave, and after that any of the family who cared added a name and made the child a present.

From the day it was born until it was at least two years old a child fed at its mother's breast. For twelve moons and five more of this time the woman could not go to the hammock with a man. It was then that her husband went to the distant French shore to work or to the railhead. But after seventeen months of nursing were past, he came back.

"If a child is made before a woman gets back her menstrual flow, then it is a god. It is Kesefu. A child born feet first some call Agosu, and some Asaeng. The child born after twins we call Dosu, and twins are Hohobi. Now it is in your book. You will give those names to your children, and your sister's children. No one will know at all what names these are. No one will be able to harm them."

6

In the quarter immediately adjoining that of the Granman there was great activity. Six or seven men and boys were at work on a new house, for the youngest daughter of the family was ready for marrying, and now the men were helping her suitor to build a house for her in her village.

From the same quarter, behind a house which stood in the shade, came the laughter of young girls. We made our way past the house and saw four girls ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen seated on a log. One of these held her head back, and an older girl was bending over her. They called to us as we passed.

"We are cutting kamemba. Do you want some cuts, too?"

These were not new cuts which were being made, for with perhaps one exception, the girls were all nubile, and

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BAYO, THE PLAYBOY

The conversation turned to the lumbering Bayo had been doing. He had been helping some of the Gankwe men bring to the river the wood they had felled. To cut down a tree was not hard work, Bayo told us. It was, however, no easy matter to bring the trunks to the water. For in the tropical jungle timber does not grow in the convenient "stands" known to the northern forests. The searcher for rare woods will find a single purple-heart tree here, and there, some distance away, a brown-heart or one of the other trees for which the white man is willing to pay well. With machete or axe the tree is felled and stripped of its bark, and squared into a great long timber. The under part of each end is shaped so that as it goes down the river it will not split against the rocks it strikes.

Going back from the river bank are to be seen openings in the bush and these lead to places where trees have been cut. At short intervals lengths of branches are laid across them. It is over these that the timber is hauled to the river —over these main lumber ways, and over the smaller ones that must be cut deep in the bush from every felled tree to these principal paths.

Bayo had been hauling lumber. Cut and dressed, the paths made ready, the logs had been taken to the river. The Gankwe men had summoned their friends and the men of neighboring villages to help them. The weight of the hard wood is such that it takes great strength to haul the squared logs over the paths. Bayo had gone with the men into the forest, and there they had spent more than a week, eating of the rice and cassava of the men whose lumber they were hauling, and having a pleasant time of it, with joking and horseplay.

"When we haul the wood, we sing *so tɛ* . . . until . . . " he said, prolonging his last syllables in the characteristic way.

The one whose logs were being brought to the water opened the singing by first speaking his thanks in a formal chant to those who had come to help him.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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"You have come to go, come to go far, come to go far to bring the wood to the water. But it is long, it is far, to the river. Thank you, friends."

Then the song was taken up by the workers and, with each rhythmic measure, the great piece of lumber went farther through the jungle on its way to the river. When he had chanted for us the greeting to the men, Bayo began to sing a song relating to men's casual exploits with
[834] women and, as he finished the song, he laughed. "White man, if you came with us, you would hear what songs the men make up about women!"

3

126 The phonograph had delighted Bayo from the first. When Apanto had summoned the spirit of his obia to fight the machine, Bayo had watched. When the white man's glue had repaired the broken belt, and the hot sun had made the machine "walk" once more, Bayo had approved.

"The machine is not weak," he had said. "I will sing for it."

And sing for it he did.

But the curse of Apanto still troubled the machine, for up the river and down there had been difficulty with it. Often when there was a particularly good song to be recorded, the belt would give, the machine would fail the white man. The story of the prowess of Apanto had gone up the river with the Gankwe paddlers, and when the machine stopped, heads nodded, and we would catch the word "obia" among the murmurs of the bystanders.

126 123 123 [96] Bayo thought, it seemed, that the machine's proud spirit was by this time properly chastened and, since twice the machine had refused to work while he was singing into it, twice had made him stop the song and its drum accompaniment, he decided to take matters into his own hands.

"White man," said Bayo, shortly after our return from up the river, "I will help the spirit of the machine. I will

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

houses would have to be built—one in his village where they would live, and one in the provision ground for his wife to sleep in when she worked in the field.

"Must you yourself build the house, Bayo?"

"My family will help me. Making a house is hard work, too, and a man must have clever fingers for weaving the walls."

There would have to be stools, and several well-ornamented combs. A clothes beater would have to be provided for the bride, and a peanut pounding board, and one mortar and pestle at least, and food stirrers and rice trays. A cassava squeezer would have to be woven, and a sifter and grater for the roots that were made into bread. And baskets, too, he would have to weave.

"This is not all. This is only what I must make. Other things I must buy for her."

He would have to provide cloths when the wedding day came, and cloths for his mother-in-law, too. The small kerchiefs which were folded in triangular shape and were worn about the waist as the sign that a woman was married he would also have to furnish, and two large cloths, each the size of three tunics. He would have to buy an iron cooking pot, and some small fishhooks with lines, and some cups from the white man's city. He was going to give his girl a pair of earrings, and a string of beads. Then there would have to be the hammock.

Bayo laughed, "For a marriage, there must be a hammock."

There were other things he was going to buy for his girl. Brass arm and leg ornaments he would buy, since his girl was already a fine dancer.

And when all these things were bought and given, then it was time for the marriage.

"But it doesn't always happen that the marriage takes place," said Bayo. "Sometimes the girl's people do not like what the man has done. They have another krutu, and decide the man should not marry into their family."

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women and has another for himself, to which he may retire whenever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cassava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of insects is threatening, the women of several households work together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gadu oso*, or "treasure house." It serves to impress his women with his importance and wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that
[476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him-
[643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the
423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint
593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-hulles

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825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava is

/103 cont./

Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his sister Adyidya.

Likewise Amonu exerts undisputed authority over three groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo (Amonu, Adisa, Kaiyé) in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

These habitations work soil whose first user was Amonu, of the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging to that lineage. Amonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that there were too many people farming the lands near Asiki).

To insure his rights, Amonu put on his land two groupings whose situations are very different:

1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and around her he made up the work group commonest among the Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Amonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/108 cont./

Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antoon whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asiti for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési /109/
/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/		
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

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Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, F18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;

--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;

--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;

--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi† sister of Kakyé.

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Lastly, of several clearings of the Adiko and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12	△	Sésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
13	○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13	○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

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Habitation of the Dju Lo
in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

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Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

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Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

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The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, F19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju, F39)

△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:

○ Wilélmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilélmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip, I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimea †.

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Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nélia (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

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Habitations of the Papaïston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

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Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston lo).

Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.

Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:

--His nieces Hélëna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);

--His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).

Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:

--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);

--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).

Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Toïna, Agodéba's wife;

/△/ Mangoto, Toïna's son;

Apuuloot.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.

Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

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Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

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767 764 [466] --The kisimɛ̃ command the village during the whole time the coffin is being made and can requisition anyone to help them;

--The ɔlɔmɛ̃ are masters of the river while their work lasts. In particular they can requisition travelers passing through to help them, and even confiscate their provisions. This is piisi, a joke. But as Mr. W. F. Van Lier also has us observe, this custom has a deep meaning; it reminds everyone that participation in the burial of a dead person is a fundamental religious duty.

767 467 The organization of these customary societies is, at least among the Boni, very rudimentary.

In each village there is a head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ who is acquainted with the topography of the cemetery and the rites to be carried out (hedemɛ̃ fu ɔlo).

In Boniville, in 1958, this was Bukuman (Papaïston);

In Loka, Tabikiť, not replaced at the beginning of 1958;

In Asisi, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

If he is absent, someone is sent to get the head of the ɔlɔmɛ̃ of another village.

Likewise, in each village there is a head of the kisimɛ̃:

In Boniville, this was Fintiman (Dju);

In Asisi, it was Boofo (Awara Bakka);

In Kormotibo, it was Aténi. /160/

764 476 The people willingly lend one another assistance from one village to the other, with no need even to ask for help, and even if it is a question of burying a foreigner in the country, a Saramaka or a Djuka for example, who dies in Boni country.

767 467 [152] For the making of the coffin it is rare not to find about 15 kisimɛ̃ spontaneously met together when four or five would be enough. They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

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157 241 31 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs